



# HITLER'S LAST HOPE

By  
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A factual survey of the Middle East war-zone and Turkey's vital strategic position, with a special chapter on Turkey's military strength by Noel Barber (Author of "How Strong is America," etc.).

A HURRICANE BOOK

*J. K. Archibald*

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# CONTENTS

## PART ONE.

*Resurgence: The Exit from Europe—Germany's Infiltration—Turkey's Man of Destiny—Back to Asia—The Barrier to India—Moslem World's Reaction—The Turkey of To-day—Kemal's Crowning Achievement—The Country Prospers—Banishing the Veil.*

## PART TWO.

*The Conquering Turk: Conquest in Europe—Greatest of the Sultans—Decline and Fall—Britain Saves Egypt—The Carve-up of Turkey—The Final Curtain.*

## PART THREE.

*If Turkey is Attacked: By Noel Barber.  
Turkey's Man-Power—The Nation's Air Strength—Guarding the Black Sea—Industry.*

## EPILOGUE.

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5

6

1

## RESURGENCE.

### PART I.

## RESURGENCE

**T**URKEY'S dramatic emergence as one of the arbiters of power in the Near and Middle East, after her complete defeat in the World War of 1914, was one of the most striking events in modern history. Almost at a bound she regained her self-respect, proved to the world that the martial qualities of the old Ottoman Turks still endured, and that she had recovered from the blow she sustained when successive wars had brought about the dismemberment of the vast empire created by a long line of mighty Sultans. There is no Turkish Empire now, but there is a Turkish State which has won the admiration of the world—and a State, moreover, so closely knit, so powerful, so completely self-contained, that friends and foes alike are compelled, by the sheer logic of fact, to regard it with respect.

No appraisal of modern Turkey is possible without an understanding of the great sprawling empire over which successive Padishahs wielded despotic sway. Looking at the map of Europe to-day it is difficult to realise that there was a time when nearly the whole of its south-eastern area, and quite a large part of what we now call the Danubian basin, were ruled by Turkey. She owned Greece and Serbia; Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina; Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary; she advanced to the walls of Vienna. She ruled from the Bosphorus to the Danube. But that was by no means all. Cross into Africa and Egypt was her vassal; Tripoli, now Libya, was hers, and so at one time were Algiers and Tunisia. She owned, by virtue of her lordship over Egypt, the vast province of the Soudan to the Great Lakes of Central Africa. In Asia, too, she had a wide-spread dominion. Arabia, the cradle of Islam, was a Turkish province. Mesopotamia, up those fabled rivers the Tigris and the Euphrates, was in her possession. She ruled over Palestine and Syria, and a part of Armenia. She



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the great delight of the Turks. His successor, Sir Edward Burton, secured a charter of much importance to British trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a marble tomb on one of the Princes Islands marks his burial place.

The Sultans, from their impregnable city of Constantinople, added conquest after conquest to their name and fame. But the Turkish empire was too vast and unwieldy to endure. Its system of government had no basis of permanency. It sent out pashas as rulers. They had no real interest in the lands they governed. They lived upon the country. The Turk was never a mixer. He remained aloof from his conquered peoples. He was indifferent to their social welfare. He built little save mosques and barracks and government offices. He exacted the last penny in taxation, and as long as he remitted the proper dues to Constantinople nothing else mattered. He made scarcely any attempt at colonisation. He felt that he was merely a bird of passage. He longed to return to the Bosphorus, the Golden Horn, the "Sweet Waters of Europe." The troops sent out to uphold his sway were nothing but an army of occupation. They regarded themselves as exiles. They seldom or never took root in the soil of these conquered lands. And when, one by one, the subjugated races—Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars, and Rumanians in Europe—took the sword to regain their lost independence and the Turk was finally expelled, he had left nothing behind him as a permanent standing memorial.

#### THE EXIT FROM EUROPE.

So the Turkish conquests in Europe slipped out of the hands of the Sultans, and though to this day there are Moslems in various parts of the Balkan Peninsula, though mosques may be found in the same streets as orthodox churches, though Albania and Bosnia and Herzegovina are Moslem in faith and practice, the disappearance of the Turk from the European lands he had dominated left scarce a sign save in the growth of a national consciousness which flamed within the hearts of his former subjects. To visit any of those countries to-day is to be amazed at the few signs that remain of Turkish occupation. Yet when King-

had established a vast empire. Her writ ran to the borders of the Mediterranean Sea, her cities of antiquity lay within her empire, Constantinople, Cairo and Alexandria, Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, Damascus, Bagdad and Kairouan, the cities of India, and Nineveh could be brought to the feet of the sultan, the firman of the Turkish Sultan. In the Mediterranean lay Crete and Cyprus, Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands. That this vast empire, one of the most powerful units of its day, should ever fall to pieces would have been unthinkable to those European statesmen whose guiding principle was the preservation of the Turkish State as the pivot of what they called the "Balance of Power."

It is beyond the province of this book to include within its limited compass more than a mere outline of the history of Turkey. The Turks, though they exercised so great an influence upon Europe, are an Asiatic people. They were early converts to the conquering faith of the Arab Prophet Mohammed, and were destined to be the inheritors of much of the empire he won by the sword, to be the foremost defenders of his faith, and to be the keepers of those Holy Places in Arabia where he lived and taught and died—Mecca and Medinah. They swarmed out of Asia in the middle centuries; they crossed the Bosphorus and after one of the most memorable sieges in history they took Constantinople and put an end to the decaying power of the Byzantines. The temple of Sancta Sophia, perhaps the noblest edifice raised by man for the worship of the Divine Wisdom, became a Moslem mosque. The whole of South-Eastern Europe, now known as the Balkan Peninsula, fell to their arms. Athens, Belgrade, Sofia, even Buda-Pesth, were occupied by Turkish garrisons. Twice they laid siege to Vienna. And, as we have indicated, a great tract of North Africa, Palestine, Syria, Arabia, Mesopotamia, were incorporated within this ever-extending empire. Europe stood amazed. Christian sovereigns courted the Turkish sultans. Our own Queen Elizabeth sent the first English ambassador to Constantinople, and though he faced the bitter opposition of French and Venetians, who belittled the importance of England, he established not only diplomatic relations but laid the foundations of a successful trade between his own country and the one to which he had been accredited. William Harborne was the first of a long line of English ambassadors who saw English factories opened to

the great might of the Turks. His successor, Sir Edward Burton, secured a charter of much importance to British trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and a marble tomb on one of the Princes Islands marks his burial place.

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To turn next to Africa and Asia we see the same process of disintegration. She lost her hold on Algeria, Tunisia went the same way, and following the example of the French the Italians took a hand in the game and annexed Libya by force of arms. These were blows of the first magnitude. But worse was to follow. Scarcely had Turkey recovered from these shocks before the great European War of 1914 burst upon the world. To the consternation of the Entente, Turkey threw in her lot with Germany and her allies—Austria and Bulgaria. How came it about? For generations, nay for centuries, we had been one of Turkey's staunchest friends. Our ambassadors had swayed Turkish policy more than the ambassadors of any other country. When Turkey was menaced by foes, when conquering armies had nearly reached Constantinople, it was Britain, more than any other Power, who saved her from disruption. The name of Britain had stood higher in Turkey than that of any other country. How, then, did events so work out that in that fateful hour of decision Turkey abandoned her ancient friendship with Britain and threw herself into the arms of Germany? That we had lost all our influence at the Sublime Porte is obvious. That Germany had taken our place is equally obvious. But why?

#### GERMANY'S INFILTRATION.

The fact is that we had completely estranged the Turk. The policy of Lord Salisbury, which strove to keep Turkey in Europe, had been discarded. We objected to the Turkish system of government, and more particularly to his treatment of subject races. We interfered—as the Turk thought—between him and his non-Moslem subjects. We pressed upon his notice unwelcome schemes of "reform," and we drafted "constitutions" which he did not in the least degree understand. We took the part of all his non-Turkish subjects who rose in revolt. The rights and wrongs of this change in British policy may be settled by the historians of the future when the troubles it created have been smoothed away.

But its effect upon the Turk was apparent. We lost prestige at Yildiz Kiosk—and our place was taken by the intriguing and the enterprising German. The story of the

last, the history of the Ottoman Empire—Balkan on horseback—became a thing of the past. To him it was merely a part of Europe that had not existed. Few things in history are more certain than that the Turkish dominance, in its day, seemed so masterful and apparently so permanent, should be swept away with hardly an outward sign that it ever existed.

At the beginning of the era in which we now live Turkey had lost nearly the whole of her European possessions. She retained Constantinople and the surrounding country, while that strange conglomeration of races and tongues and faiths, known as Macedonia, was the bane of every European chancellery. But Constantinople was still hers—though Czars of Russia, and Serbs and Bulgars looked upon it with longing eyes. Napoleon's dictum, that he who holds Constantinople is the master of the Middle East, was still an article of faith with European statesmen. There has been more rivalry for the possession of that fair city, more juggling with it by Cabinets and Congresses, more signing it away by pacts to this or that claimant who chanced to be in the ascendancy at the moment, than in the case of any other capital. Long ago it would have been lost to the Turk if those who schemed for his downfall could have agreed who should be installed in his place. How many times have armies, within the last hundred years, advanced almost to the gates of Constantinople only to be ordered back by a hastily-summoned Congress?

The result is that the Turk still owns this entrancing city. It is no longer his capital. He has moved out of Europe into Asia of his own free will and built a new capital at Ankara. But Constantinople is still the brightest ornament he possesses, the Mecca of all good Turks, the shrine of the most famous Sultans of their line, a city whose every stone speaks to him of the might and splendour of his ancestors. And at this moment it is doubtful if there is a single honest statesman in Europe who would wish to see the Turk ejected from Constantinople. It may be a part of the Nazi policy as evolved in the tortuous brain of Adolf Hitler, but to bring it about he will have to conquer the whole world. Five hundred years of ownership have given the Turks a right of possession now admitted by all fair-minded people.

And when, after the Italo-Turkish War, when Italy had taken Libya and the British Government stood by and allowed her to retain possession of the Dodecanese Islands in despite of her promise to give them up after a time-limit, Turkish feeling against Britain flared up in angry resentment.

It is scarcely surprising that the frigid aloofness of Britain on the one hand, the cajolery and flattery of Germany on the other hand, and the glittering prospect of the Baghdad Railway revenue, swung the balance against us and flung the Turks into the arms of the Kaiser. So the stage was set. The Great War began—and Turkey was soon on the side of Germany, whose hollow and insincere flatteries were luring the once great Ottoman Empire to the most terrible moment in its history.

It was the Great War which deprived Turkey of the rest of her valuable and most historic possessions. She lost Egypt and the Soudan; she lost Syria and Palestine; she lost Arabia and Mesopotamia. She fought a gallant fight. She forced the surrender at Kut-el-Amara of General Townshend and a British force of 12,000. The Turks who won that victory were worthy successors of the Turks who won immortal fame by standing up to the Russians at the famous siege of Plevna in the middle of the last century. The Turkish infantryman is among the best in the world. But her case was hopeless. Despite the fact that her armies were led by German generals they were beaten. They collapsed, and their downfall was a prime factor in the fall of Germany.

It is significant that Germany's appeal for an armistice came within eleven days after the surrender of the Turks. The result was devastating to Turkey. Her African and Asiatic empire was carved into new States and divided among Egyptians and Arabs. She lost all her subjects except the Turks. She ceased to exist as an empire. All that remained to her in Europe after the Peace Conference was Constantinople and a strip of terrain around it. In Africa she had lost every yard of territory. In Asia all that was left was Anatolia. Turkey had ceased to count in the counsels of the nations. Apparently she was down and out—beaten, humiliated, shorn of her lands, cooped within her comparatively insignificant territory in Asia Minor. Bitterly had she paid for her German alliance.



German, and even to take advantage of her infiltration of other countries before and during the Great War. She sent her commercial travellers into the land and her goods displaced ours in every market in Asia. German emissaries were everywhere on the Turkish doorstep. They displayed no particular zeal for "reforms" and "constitutions" never formed part of their travellers' wares and samples. Instead they offered to reorganise the army, to remodel the customs, to plant factories, to revive agriculture, and to build railways—ostensibly for the benefit of the Turks but certainly with an eye on the advancement of German interests—particularly in the domain of trade and commerce. They projected the Baghdad Railway, a grandiose scheme which would have given Germany a stranglehold upon the Near and Middle East and taken her within striking distance of India. They founded a new Eastern policy, that "Drang nach Osten" which became a shibboleth on every German lip.

Germany and Austria were in collusion. Austria established what was virtually a protectorate over the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and later took them bodily without as much as a "By your leave." Germany's own intentions were plain for all the world to see. She aimed at a German ascendancy which involved the acquisition of all the Balkan States, the conquest of Turkey and the occupation of Constantinople, to be followed by a move across the Bosphorus into Asia. A German ruler would sit upon the Sultan's throne. The Kaiser had dreams of being crowned in Sancta Sophia itself. He was to become Protector of the Moslem world. He made a pompous and theatrical entry into Jerusalem. He would have gone to Mecca, indeed, but the Sultan would have none of that. He told him that no "infidel" foot was allowed to tread the streets of that holy city.

Meanwhile the construction of the Baghdad Railway proceeded. It meant the complete subjugation of Turkey: it brought Germany nearer the Persian Gulf, nearer Egypt, nearer India, near Asiatic Russia and Afghanistan and Persia. Every inducement was held out to Turkey. She was told that the railway would strengthen her position, that it would link her capital with the outlying parts of her empire, and, above all, there was the inducement to an impoverished State that it would produce a revenue which would fill to the brim her sorely-depleted treasury.

popular Parliament in short, he planned and created an entirely new Turkey, able and fit to take her place among the nations of the world

He was stern, he was ruthless, but he was capable. He made no mistakes. He understood his people. The King of Afghanistan lost his throne and had to fly from his country for attempting the same things—but Kemal carried out his schemes with the strong hand of a master working in unison with a commanding intellect, whereas Amanullah of Afghanistan was like a child with a new toy and worked as caprice bade him. That Kemal should be the life President of the new Turkish republic, that he should have no rival, that he should be the hero and the idol of his people—these were but the natural rewards for a work as great as that done for any country by any liberator. His death was a tragedy, but he had completed his task. Turkey had been re-created. Her foundations were well and truly laid. He had trained others, and when the power fell from his hands there was ready in Ismet Inonu, his successor as President, a man after his own heart, his colleague in arms and in statecraft, able to walk diligently and faithfully in the master's steps.

Thus we gaze upon a new Turkey. The old Turkey of romance and glamour, though not without a touch of the squalid, fades from the scene. It seems scarcely credible that the pasha and the bey, the turban and the yashmak, the harem and the mosque, were the outstanding characteristics of Constantinople, that regiments of semi-wild dogs patrolled the streets and owned exclusive rights to their own quarters, that watchmen walked the streets, at night and cried the alarm if fire broke out among the flimsy wooden houses.

Constantinople had been a popular calling place for travellers. Russians and Greeks made pilgrimage to Sancta Sophia almost as Moslems make pilgrimage to Mecca. Visitors within our own generation will recall that apart from the grandeur of its 600 mosques, the city walls, and the many relics of Byzantine splendour, the most attractive spectacle was the Friday morning visit of the Sultan to worship at a mosque near Yildiz. The streets were closed to traffic. They were lined with troops, privileged sight-

## TURKEY'S MAN OF DESTINY

Yet, such was the dramatic move of the wheel of fate, she was destined to rise again. By the genius of one man she rose from her knees and held her head proudly to the world. That Kemal Atatürk is the greatest figure in the history of Turkey is the verdict of all observers. As warrior, as statesman, as the creator of a new State out of the ruins of the old Turkey, he stands pre-eminent. During the Great War he had risen to high positions. He had fought on nearly every front. He was the hero of his troops at the Dardanelles and wherever there was hard fighting. When the war was over he stood alone on his lofty pinnacle. If Turkey was to rise again he was the only man to pull her to her feet. The old Pasha class had vanished. The rule of the Sultans was doomed to extinction. There were two things to be done—to infuse a new spirit into the nation and then to lead it to victory and freedom. How Mustafa Kemal cleared out the encroaching Greeks, how he faced a British force and exacted terms which soothed Turkish honour, how he freed his country from danger and menace of every kind and from every quarter, make a legend which will be told to countless Turks for generations yet to come.

After the Great War this doughty warrior turned statesman. He discarded the title of Ghazi, the most honourable distinction to which any Turk could aspire. He became a civilian and a legislator. He turned to the arts of peace with the same aptitude he had displayed to the arts of war. He found Turkey an almost mediæval State. He Europeanised it, yet without destroying its Turkish core. He abolished the fez, he abolished women's veils, he disestablished Islam and extinguished the Caliphate, he swept away the old Arabic script and introduced Roman letters, restored the purity of the old Turkish tongue, founded schools and colleges, built roads and railways, repaired the ravages of war at Smyrna and other cities, gave the Turks a new national consciousness, restored their pride and self-respect, removed the capital from Constantinople to Ankara and built there a new city which will endure as a monument to his genius, introduced trades and handicrafts, decreed the equality of the sexes and sent boys and girls to the same schools, introduced adult suffrage, freedom of election and a

progress was arrested at Vienna, it is doubtful if Turkey regrets the loss of those troublesome provinces. They were ever a thorn in her side. They were ever causing her trouble. Their rival faiths, their conflicting national ideals, their medley of languages, made them difficult to rule. And it must be admitted that the Turk, whatever his good qualities, seems never to have been intended as a ruler of subject races.

If fate works out a nation's real destiny, then Turkey came into her own only when the stern arbitrament of war deprived her of her near and distant provinces and compelled her to work out her own salvation in her Asiatic domain, among her own people, speaking her own tongue and animated by her own national consciousness, freed from what she had always regarded as the meddlesome interference of the foreigner.

Thus to-day she stands on her own feet. Balkan Pacts and Leagues and Little Ententes have gone by the board. She is on the friendliest terms with her ancient foe Greece. Nobody would have thought it possible after those terrible events at Smyrna. The fact is that Greek and Turk, despite their difference in race and speech, religion and outlook, have much in common. They are neighbours. They are both rightly suspicious of Germany. They have both bitter memories of the perfidy of some of the Balkan nations. And, moreover, both of them have become reconciled with Russia. Greece cannot forget that Russia is the home of her own Orthodox faith. Turkey realises that Russia is her stoutest bulwark against Teutonic aggression.

Hence, though bound to Britain by treaty, she made it a stipulation that whatever course the impending war might take, whatever nations might or might not be drawn into it, Turkey must not be expected to draw the sword against Russia. For that act of friendship the Soviet Republic earned the gratitude of the new Turkish Republic in warding off the long-threatened and long-expected appearance of the Nazi armies in Constantinople. If Hitler does not repeat the boast of a former European dictator that

seats crowded at windows and balconies. Having first satisfied the police that they carried no time, or opera glasses, or lethal weapons—to see the Sultan, Caliph of the Moslem world, drive by in a horse-drawn carriage, stop at the door of the mosque, leave his carriage, ascend the steps of the building, and then turn and salute the faithful—a simple ritual, but symbolic of his position as spiritual head of nearly 300 million Moslems.

The capital was thronged with foreigners, for the Turk left many departments of government administration in their hands. The Greeks had their own quarter, their own cathedral, their own Patriarchs. There were Armenians, Serbs and Bulgars, Jews, Italians and Albanians. The Court physician might be a Jew, the head of the Treasury was almost certain to be a Greek or an Armenian. Many a Grand Vizier had never been born a Turk. The Sultan's bodyguard was composed of faithful and stalwart Albanians. Rulers sent to govern distant provinces were often men of a foreign race. It was an Albanian family who ruled Egypt in the name of the Sultan and founded the present reigning dynasty. Turkey, indeed, nearly up to the Great War, was an Oriental despotism. It was the war, and the powerful personality of Kemal Ataturk, which swept away every vestige of mediævalism, saved Turkey from becoming a German province, and put her on the road to a new destiny, freed from Balkan tangles, no longer afraid of Russia, no longer actuated by dislike of the Greek.

#### BACK TO ASIA.

Turkey's position in modern politics is precarious and delicate. She has withdrawn into Asia and retains Constantinople as a mighty monument. What the Powers failed to accomplish by generations of plots and intrigues she herself has done voluntarily. She is no longer a European Power in the accepted meaning of the phrase. Despite the memory of her former greatness, of the day when she swept to victory through every Balkan land until her

## THE BARRIER TO INDIA.

It is because of these considerations that Turkey is on the alert. She has been courted and cajoled and threatened by the Nazis. Her answer has been the stiffening of her resolution. Her forces have been mobilised, her defences have been strengthened, her armament has been improved. She is master of the Straits and is the strongest of the Eastern Powers whose shores are laved by the Mediterranean. She holds the key not only to Asia Minor, but to Persia, to Afghanistan, to Mesopotamia, to those famous cities of Asiatic Russia linked with the Turks by the ties of race and faith and speech. She bars the Nazi path to India. The downfall of Turkey, the Hitlerisation of this remodelled and revived State, would be a blow to every independent people in the Near and Middle East.

What would happen to Turkey if Hitler fell upon her makes an interesting speculation, fit theme for military strategists. To the layman it is much more interesting to consider first causes—why should Hitler make war upon Turkey at all? The answer falls into two divisions. The first is that Turkey, viewing her for the moment as she stands in Europe, is the last of the Balkan States to preserve her freedom and independence. There is not much of her European territory left, to be sure. From the Danube the German hordes have swept onward in their conquering march. Austria and Hungary, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rumania and Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece—all have been swept into the maw of Germany, some by conquest, others by that German innovation which consists in taking possession by the threat of force. The swastika flies from Belgrade to the Adriatic across to the Black Sea. It is hoisted on every public building to the very edge of Turkish territory. That little strip, all that is left of what was once Turkey in Europe, alone flies the flag of the Turkish Republic.

It must be gall and wormwood to Hitler to see the obstinate Turks holding up his eastward march. Greater men than he have looked longingly upon Constantinople. There was Napoleon, who dreamed of the day when he would stand by the side of the gleaming Straits and look across to the Asia he had marked as the greatest of all his

he would "water his horses at the Bosphorus," he would certainly love to trundle his guns and tanks and march his goose-stepping troops through the streets of ancient Byzantium. It is a coveted prize he would give a great deal to possess -- to accomplish what some of the greatest conquerors in history failed to do.

Turkey, then, stands four-square. She is under no illusions. She knows that in Europe her main foes are Germany and Italy. Neither Britain nor Russia covets a yard of her territory. Her only danger from the Balkans is from perfidious Bulgaria. Her whole interests, the very existence of her freedom and independence are bound up with the success of the United Nations. They wish her well. They admire the revolution she has accomplished within her borders. They have seen the intensification of her agriculture, the growth of cultivation and the expansion of her trade and commerce, the establishment of industries in which nobody ever dreamed he would see a Turk engaging, the consolidation of her finances, and the founding of an ordered system of government and law and order. Under no consideration would they disturb this happy state of affairs.

But that it would be disturbed if Germany won is an absolute certainty. Germany would be master of the whole of Europe and a great part of Asia. Not for one moment would she permit the existence of an independent State blocking her path to the wealth of India and the fabled splendours of India's domed and templed cities. If Turkey has to fight she will be fighting for her life and freedom against the principal Power who would throw her down. It is a terrible thought that every State near Germany, whether an ally by inclination or compulsion, would give uncounted treasure to wake up one morning and find that Germany had been removed ten or twenty thousand miles away. And among these is certainly Turkey. Even those who find themselves acting with Hitler realise that like the man who was given a ride on a tiger they are in the unhappy position of knowing that they dare not get off.

England the Fox, as he was called by reason of his intrigues and his treachery. It was true that during the last war Bulgaria welcomed Turkey as an ally, but it was a matter of convenience. The smouldering fires of bitter hatred burn within every Bulgarian breast. At any moment they may burst into flame. Bulgaria is treacherous, and false to the core—to friend and foe alike. Here are two examples. She won her freedom by the aid of Russia. Outside her Parliament house at Sofia there stood an equestrian statue of the then Czar of Russia bearing the simple words—"The Liberator." Yet when the Great War burst upon the world in 1914 Bulgaria could turn her back upon Russia, the land to whom she owed her country and her throne, and could join the Germans in their war against the successor of that very "Liberator" whose effigy fronted the Bulgarian deputies as they left the Parliament house after giving their iniquitous vote.

A second example of her perfidy goes back a little further. It was after that Balkan War when all the Balkan States for the first time in their history had made united war upon Turkey and had forced her to her knees. It was then that Serbia and Bulgaria disagreed about the division of the Turkish lands they had won by the sword. While the difference was being composed Bulgarian generals invited Serb generals to cross the lines and be entertained to dinner. At midnight the Serbs returned to their quarters—and the Bulgarians followed and fell upon them in treacherous assault. At the very moment the clink of glasses accompanied the toast of friendship the Bulgarians had in their pockets the secret orders for their midnight war. There was never a fouler act of perfidy written upon the page of history. Lord Kitchener knew the Bulgars. He was sent on a mission to make himself familiar with conditions in the Balkans, and in his report he wrote these words for all the world to read: "The Bulgarians are a despicable race; morally they seem to be at the lowest ebb." That verdict will stand for all time—and the unerring judgment of Kitchener is confirmed and justified. Bulgaria has nothing to learn of the ancient art of stabbing in the back. At the call of Hitler, for greed of conquest, she would stab Turkey with as little compunction as she used the stiletto of the assassin upon Serbia and Greece or other of her former allies.



the guests of the Turkish Government. He had not only given a splendid account of the Turkish Army in the Far East and Europe. He was a proud man when he lectured in London, Warsaw, and Paris, and Vienna, and he could drive through crowds whose hands were all out to him with pride. He would be a prouder man still if he day after day when he drove in triumph through the streets of ancient Byzantium and halted beneath the mighty shadow of Sancta Sophia, and then advanced to the shore of the Bosphorus and looked across where India beckoned him on. There is no wonder that he regards Turkey as a barrier, no wonder that as he thinks of the oil wells of Persia and Iraq he chafes at the reflection that they might be his within a week if only he could clear his path of the stubborn Turk.

But Kemal did not wage his War of Independence for this—the Turks have not exalted him to the pinnacle of fame as their liberator and saviour to throw away now their nobly won freedom at the bidding of a Hitler. Turkey is made of sterner stuff than Austria, or Hungary, or Rumania, or Bulgaria. Her million men in arms would fight with all the valour of their race before they yielded to the brutal force of a Nazi domination.

Let it be admitted that her path to victory would not be easy. She has foes in Europe, on her very doorstep. She has composed her centuries-old quarrel with Greece. A million or more Turks have been removed from Greece into Anatolia by friendly arrangement, and about the same number of Greeks have left Turkey and returned to the motherland of their race. Turkey has sent food to the starving Greeks. No longer has she any cause of quarrel with Russia. As already pointed out, in her treaty with Britain she stipulated that if called to arms on the side of her ally on no account must it involve her in war with Russia. She counts Russia as one of her staunchest friends. She sends her young men and women to the Soviet State to learn trades and handicrafts. She buys machinery from Russia and Russian engineers see to its erection. Turkey has nothing to fear from Greece or Russia.

Her deadliest enemy in Europe—after Germany—is Bulgaria, among the most Germanised of the Balkan States. It was an Austrian who was the first King of Bulgaria—

the Great War did the German Emperor base his hopes upon the Sultan of Turkey declaring a Jihad, or holy war, in which Moslems in every land should take up arms by the side of Turkey. Islam remained aloof. If that was the case then, when the Turkish Sultan claimed to be the Caliph of all the Faithful, it will be so again now that Turkey has abolished the Caliphate and dis-established the faith of which it claimed to be the head.

But there is even more to it than this. Islam has nothing to gain by a German or an Italian victory, but has everything to lose. The devout Moslems remember the Italian excesses in Libya at the conquest of that African country. They remember how the Italians took the gentle Senussi sheikhs, among the most holy men of Islam, up in aeroplanes and flung them down to the ground. They remember with horror that the Italians gassed and machine-gunned the helpless people of Abyssinia. They contrast the mild and beneficent rule of Britain—the helping hand we gave to Egypt, the restoration of independence to the Arabs of Syria. They have seen, too, what Russia has done in those secluded cities of Russian Turkestan where only a couple of generations ago a European went in danger of his life if he were identified in the public streets; they remember the infamy of the German massacre of the Hereros in West Africa; and they contrast these crimes with the peace and security which fall upon Moslem lands wherever the British flag flies as a symbol of human freedom. As there was no "Jihad" during the last war, except in name, so surely will there be none now. Turkey, if attacked by Germany, would have the sympathy and the good wishes of every Moslem country. Some of them might even lend their aid, but the Moslem peoples are scattered much too widely ever to unite in war for any cause whatever. If unity were feasible it would be directed not against the United Nations, who have proved their friendship for Islam, but against those Axis Powers who would trample this age-long faith into the dust beneath the heel of a soulless and godless despotism. Turkey need have no fear from Islam. Every tenet of the faith is against the Nazi and the Fascist creeds. In a hundred thousand Moslem mosques prayers have been offered for the defeat of the Axis Powers.

## REACTION OF THE MUSLIM WORLD

If Turkey should be brought in to the war there is another question of great significance. How would the Moslem world react to it? For centuries she was the greatest of all the Moslem powers. Her Sultan was Caliph of the Faithful, the successor of Mohammed the Prophet. His name was spoken with reverence in every mosque throughout the East. There were millions of Moslems who knew nothing of him as Sultan of Turkey, but as the Caliph he was the head of their great religion. There are nearly 300 millions of them, extending from Morocco to China and even to Japan, Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, Arabia, Malaya, and a part of India follow the Moslem faith.

Islam is the official religion of all these lands. Turkey, once their leader, has abandoned Islam as a State religion. The new Turkey is a secular State. The mullahs and the imams have the status only of private individuals. They are forbidden to wear religious vestments in the public streets. The faithful still go to prayer in the mosques, the muezzin still ascends the minarets and summons the people to worship, but the Koran, the holy book of their faith, is no longer taught in the public schools. Its code of civil law has been abrogated, its religious ordinances have become a dead letter, the veil has been cast aside, the harem, save in rural districts, is a thing of the past. If Turkey were to be forced into the war how would she stand in relation to all other Moslem countries?

The experience of the last war provides us with a clue. Indian Moslems fought the Turk in Mesopotamia, in Syria and Palestine. The brotherhood of Islam stood firmly against German aggression. It is one of the world's most democratic faiths. It ignores caste and class. All men are equal in the sight of Allah. Pilgrims to the shrines of Mecca and Medinah cast aside their trappings of wealth as soon as they tread the soil of the holy area. They robe themselves in a couple of simple white cloths, all alike, and the Indian prince, the Afghan emir, the Moroccan sultan, are indistinguishable from the Egyptian peasant or the wandering beggar from the wilds of Turkestan or the jungles of Central Africa. The upity of Islam is a brotherhood of faith, and not of race or of speech. In vain during

way it will never forget it. Statues in public squares, photographs in schools, public offices, and thousands of humble *deputies* invite the admiration of millions of Turks as they gaze upon them daily.

Old Turkey, the Turkey of the pasha and the bey, ceased to exist when Kemal leaped into the saddle. With a strong hand he swept away every trace of Orientalism, save that town and village mosques should endure as architectural monuments and as places of worship for those who still cling to the faith of their fathers. He himself was frankly a free-thinker. He had no room for religion in his life. So he swept it away, made Turkey a secular State, deprived the religious teachers of their power over the lives of the people, founded schools, colleges and technical institutes, equalised the sexes, created a legislature on the basis of a free electorate, and by a hundred and one other reforms, worth setting out in detail, he set the feet of his new Turkey on that path of ordered progress which has made her a model to all other Asiatic lands.

Despite the drawing in of its frontiers Turkey is still three times the size of Great Britain, though the population of seventeen millions is only a third of that of the British Isles. The people are hardy and virile, mainly of the peasant class, devoted to the soil. There are few large towns and cities and the people are distributed fairly evenly over the countryside. They have been accustomed to the simple life for centuries, extracting a meagre subsistence from the earth, varied by service with the colours. Turkish arms have been carried to every part of the Near and Middle East—from the Danube to the Tigris, from the Bosphorus to the streams that lave the buildings of Damascus.

Turks have fought with nearly every race upon the shores of the Mediterranean. Their exploits upon the battlefields of Europe, Africa and Asia make a story of which any nation might be proud. Their last appearance on the field was in the War of Independence in 1922, when Kemal, to use a phrase of Napoleon's, astonished Europe by the speed and vigour of his assaults. To-day the Turks have flocked to the colours at the threat of war, and if they should be forced into the conflict it will be found that the ancient fighting

## THE TURKEY OF TO-DAY

It remains now to be shown what modern Turkey is like and to appraise the loss to civilisation if she were engulfed in the Nazi vortex. She presents to the world the rare spectacle of an ancient civilisation so completely modernised as to be European in outlook while retaining her complete individuality. The advance of Egypt as a Moslem power was remarkable, but it took generations for its accomplishment, and it was brought about under foreign tutelage, by the aid of foreign armies and foreign funds, and that at first it excited the suspicion of the Egyptians is beyond dispute.

The case of Turkey is altogether different. It all sprang from the brain of one man, and he a Turk of the Turks. The fact that Mustafa Kemal was given the name of Atatürk, meaning "father of the Turks," tells its own story. Here was no alien ruler forcing new-fangled theories upon an unwilling people, no despot taught in foreign schools bidding his people turn Western to serve his own ends, to minister to his own vanity, or to suit his capricious moods. Instead we have the figure of a great patriot sure of the destiny of his race, steeped in its traditions, mindful of its ancient glories, coming to the conclusion that Turkey's salvation lay in breaking the shackles of cast-iron prejudice and accepting all that was good in Western civilisation. He had seen the rise of Egypt and her recognition by the world as an independent Power. He had seen the damming up of the Nile, the vast schemes of irrigation, the advancement of agriculture, the growth of manufactures, the flow of wealth into the country by the influx of tourist traffic—all brought about by the introduction of the arts of peace.

What could be done in Egypt could be done in Turkey—but with this difference, that it should be initiated by a Turk, that it should be accepted by the people as his contribution to their progress, and, moreover, though it should be imposed by the strength of a mighty purpose it should be presented as the only alternative to the medieval customs and mode of life which had contributed to Turkey's downfall. Modern Arabia has been given the name of its creator—Saudi Arabia, after Ibn Saud, its masterful ruler. If Turkey's name is not linked with that of Kemal in the same

be no laid out anew, with squares and centres and suburbs: sanitation and water supplies, electricity, trams and public abattoirs, cinemas and People's Houses, the wireless and the gramophone—all these make life more tolerable than it ever could have been to the Turk of 20 years ago.

Another monumental achievement of Kemal was the complete reorganisation of education—or, rather, the creation of an entirely new system. In the old days there was little education in Turkey as Europeans understand the term. In most of the villages the *khoja*, or schoolmaster, had a few boys in front of him droning page after page of the Islamic Bible, the Koran. It was written in Arabic. The boys were not taught it as a living language, to use it as a medium of speech and writing. Few of them mastered it to that extent. All they were expected and compelled to do was to learn page after page by heart so that they could recite it, parrot-like. Of its meaning they knew little or nothing. In Constantinople and the larger cities there were schools of more advanced type, and the pashas and others of the ruling class could speak French and found diversion in reading French novels, but of higher education as Europe knows it there was very little in Turkey outside the capital itself.

It was Kemal's passionate zeal for education which did more than anything for his people. They could only live a full life by knowing what life held out to them. They could only know this by education. It was to this great task that Kemal bent his energies. To-day there are primary schools, intermediate schools, high schools, colleges, universities, technical institutes, and all the apparatus of a well-established educational system. Education is free to all and it is compulsory. It is on a secular basis. Now that the Koran has been banished textbooks of all the modern arts and sciences have taken its place. Teachers go through a course of study on Western lines and receive diplomas. The sexes mingle in school and on the playing grounds and fields. Even if it were not free, education is valued so highly that it is a point of honour with parents to see that their children enjoy its advantages. At the present rate of progress illiteracy will have disappeared from Turkey within a very few years, except among the rural peasants of the old order.

spirit still lingers, born of centuries of slavery. There is not a Turk in the land who would hesitate to take up arms if only for the sake of Kemal Atatürk and the heritage he left to his country.

It was after the War of Independence that Kemal turned his organising genius to the creation of a new Turkey. In less than a generation, indeed within the compass of a decade, he lifted his people out of the gloom and despondency of their defeat in the Great War and infused into them something of his own zeal and ardour. The amazing thing is that the Turk, who had fought against "reforms" for generations, now accepted them with open hands. The difference lies in the fact that in the first case reforms had been imposed by outsiders; now they were the offering of a man of their own blood. They were accepted with enthusiasm. Remembering Turkey's one-man rule of the olden days, when power was vested in the hands of an omnipotent Sultan, the change-over to a freely-elected Parliament, to which the people's representatives could be elected openly, could sit on equal terms, could express their views at will and vote as they pleased, the new institution provides an amazing spectacle such as no Turk of 30 to 40 years ago could possibly have visualised.

#### KEMAL'S CROWNING ACHIEVEMENT.

Side by side with the creation of parliamentary government came the reform of the judicature. There are now properly constituted Courts, and a judicial system taken entirely out of the hands of the heads of religion, no longer based upon Koranic law and tradition, but grounded on the best European principles. Women, so complete is their emancipation, may study law and practise it in the Courts as assessors. There is a system of police, again based on European models. Life and property are respected—and protected, which was scarcely the case under the old Hamidian regime. Town councils operate in all the important centres, and though the Vali of a province, or vilayet, is still an imposing figure, he may no longer ride rough-shod over the wishes and desires of the people. The towns are

### THE COUNTRY PROSPERS.

If we turn to the land a similar story has to be told. Agriculture has ever been one of the staple industries of Asia Minor, but carried on by the most primitive methods. Under Kemal's tutelage it developed to so great an extent that it is now one of the bases of Turkish industry and bids fair to become the source of great prosperity. In the main, Turkey possesses a fertile soil. Most of it is well-watered, and irrigation schemes are adding to its fertility. The land produces wheat, barley, maize, beans, poppies; among fruits there are melons, apricots, grapes, figs, plums, apples, pears, peaches, almonds; and there are olives and pomegranates. The figs of Smyrna have world-wide fame. There are miles and miles of nut plantations. Turkey's nut production, amounting to over 60,000 tons a year, is half that of the entire world. Whole districts are given up to the growing of hazel nuts, as in the case of hops in our own county of Kent. Cotton and tobacco are grown extensively, and the yield is such that after her own demands are met there is a substantial surplus for export abroad. The breeding of cattle and horses is also a growing industry. By means of lectures, pamphlets and posters, by the creation of agricultural banks, credit co-operative agencies, institutes for studying plants and their diseases, the rural population are being shown that the cultivation of the soil is bound up with their prosperity.

Side-by-side with this work attention is directed to the stamping out of one of Turkey's greatest blights, malaria. In former days the mortality from malaria was tremendous. Swamps have been drained, mosquitoes exterminated by modern methods, and areas subject to malaria are in the charge of officials who have undergone a special course of instruction in preventive measures. Quinine is distributed among the peasantry, and as the result of this organised campaign it is certain that the pest of malaria will one day be stamped out of existence.



To bring about the change Kemal took to the root of a deep Turkish tradition. He ordered the use of the old Arab script. It may not be known, however, that the conquering Arabs of fourteen hundred years ago carried their alphabet with their religion and imposed it upon their newly won subjects. The call to prayer was recited in Arabic. The Koran was read in Arabic. It was deemed impious to render the holy message in any other tongue. Even though they spoke their own language it had to be written in Arabic script. To-day twenty nations still use it—Arabs, Moors, Algerians, Tunisians, Egyptians, Malays, Hindoo Moslems, Hausas, Afghans, Persians, and others. Next to the Roman alphabet adopted by the greater part of Europe it is the most widely used alphabet devoted to the purpose of the printed page. It lends itself to an ornate and even beautiful calligraphy. It is to be seen at its best in the decorative scheme of thousands of mosques and mausoleums. Islam prohibits the use of the human figure as a subject for the artist's pencil. Hence the artistic impulse of the Moslem world has found calligraphy an instrument of self-expression.

It needed a strong man to uproot this venerable tradition. Kemal succeeded. He ordered the use of Roman letters for newspapers and books, for posters and Government decrees, and he made it a law that every adult up to 45 years of age should learn it. Turkey went to school in earnest. Nor was this all. The language itself was modernised. Turkish was composed very largely of Arabic words, with a fair sprinkling of Persian. They were all struck out. Turkish words that had long been extinct were revived and brought into use. An official dictionary was compiled. Turkey entered into possession of what was virtually a new language. There is no parallel to this achievement in modern annals—the work of one man and within the span of much less than one human lifetime.

### BANISHING THE VEIL

But for sheer spectacular significance there is nothing in this picture of modern Turkey more arresting than the transformation in the status of women and girls. There are residents in Constantinople who remember when the Sultan was the only male in the whole Turkish Empire who had the right to look upon a strange woman unveiled. There are people still living in the new capital of Ankara who recall when all women, Christians and Moslems alike, were compelled to wear the veil. They dare not show themselves in public without it. The home was divided into two portions—the selamlık, given up to the men, and the haremlik, sacred to the women. The sexes never mixed in public, either inside the home or outside it. If a strange male entered a house he was kept to the men's quarters. If he went from one room to another he was expected to lift his voice, or slither his feet, so that if by chance a feminine member of the household were in a passage she would take the warning hint and skip promptly out of sight. Social life, as Europe knows it, simply did not exist in Turkey until the War of Independence and the strong hand of Kemal swept away these relics of Moslem male domination.

To-day the veil is banished. Women move freely about the streets, in trams and trains and cinemas and People's Houses. As girls they go to the same school as the boys. They go to colleges and take degrees. They study the arts and sciences. They learn European dressmaking at their institutes. They are forewomen at factories. They pour out of the gates in the evening as they do out of the factories in our own industrial centres. They take their bicycles and ride as blithely as the men. They become overseers, supervisors, welfare workers, teachers; they practise in the Courts; they make munitions and run canteens; they play in town orchestras; they dance at public assemblies; they ride horseback and they fly aeroplanes. They work in the cotton fields and the tobacco factories; they even permit themselves to be photographed. They enter town councils

Trade and industry have made enormous strides. There is a small coal mining area and its development is within the bounds of possibility. Tobacco, which accounts for about a third of Turkey's whole exports, employs thousands of men and women in its cultivation and preparation for sale. One factory alone finds work for 1000 women. Cotton is produced on quite a large scale, and there are State-owned sugar refineries. Turkey is a protectionist country, although she was once a devotee of Free Trade. In the towns there are factories of all kinds on modern lines complete with social clubs, canteens, playing fields, and other amenities. Industry and its development were among the foremost planks in Kemal's programme of national changes, and there can be little doubt, viewing the advances already made, that Turkey is destined to become an industrial centre to be reckoned with in the economic scheme of the Near East.

Meanwhile railways are being built. The Black Sea and the Mediterranean are linked together. Originally Turkey's railway systems were the result of concessions to foreign financiers. They are owned now by the State. They are being extended rapidly. Massive bridges span river gorges, tunnels pierce mountain ranges, and the countryside is dotted with stations whose names are written in Roman characters instead of Arabic. There used to be scores of thousands of camels in Turkey. Camel caravans were a feature of the roads linking town with town. They are still to be seen in the remotest parts of the republic, but their day has gone. There is little room for the camel in a country where express trains, lighted with electricity and complete with restaurant cars, carry passengers and merchandise at 50 miles an hour. And yet such is the rapid transformation the country is undergoing that while the railway traveller sees tractors at work on one farm he may behold teams of oxen doing agricultural work on others, with strings of bullock carts threading their way through country lanes.

in varying degrees of splendour until the Sultanate was abolished in 1922. A new Turkey has risen in its place, thanks to Kemal Ataturk, and whatever may be its destiny it is certain that no Turk of this or any future generation would be false to the life and example of that outstanding figure whose fame will endure through the ages as The Father of his People. As was said of a great American, he was "first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen."

and take a look at her. She is a young girl, content. They have no doubt that the new Turkey will be held in the future by such a girl. Zehra Ghossein Kemal's adopted daughter. She has such good purpose that she bore a journey of 200 miles single-handed from Smyrna to Ankara. Remember that she was the daughter of Turkey's dictator, a lady of high degree, and then remember that not even the Sultan's daughter thirty or forty years ago would have dared to take the air except in a closed brougham, sitting in semi-darkness, covered from head to foot in veil and draperies.

This revolution in the social life of Turkey is not merely spectacular, it not merely marks a complete breakaway from the rigid austerity of Islamic days, but it is bound to produce tremendous results within the next few generations, when the old order has been banished even from the most remote and backward rural districts. A Turkey whose women are equal with the men, who wear modern European dress instead of the veil and clumsy draperies imposed upon their mothers, who go everywhere with perfect freedom, is so unlike the Turkey of tradition that the traveller of to-day is simply amazed at the change and feels that Turkey became a modern State as though by the waving of a magician's wand.

So Turkey sets her face towards her new destiny. She marches along with feet firmly planted in the path of progress. But she is still Turkey. To be a Turk is still the proudest boast of every man and woman in the republic. There has been no loss of national consciousness. On the contrary it has been strengthened and revitalised. The achievements of Kemal Ataturk bring a glow of pride to every Turkish heart. The glory of the old Ottoman Sultans may be remembered. The Turk is proud of his country, proud of its conquests, proud of the place it held in the counsels of the nations when its empire spread over so great a portion of the Near and Middle East. But those days have gone, and with them has gone that vast if ramshackle empire over which some forty Sultans reigned

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and take a man, I have not the strength of a Government. The story will be told in the next chapter. The story of the young woman Sahiba Gorgelen Kemal is a story of a woman who, like so many of her kind, had good purposes, but had no sense of the value of a machine single-headed man. Sahiba is from Istanbul, a distance of 200 miles. Remember that she was the daughter of Turkey's dictator, a lady of high degree, and then remember that not even the Sultan's daughter thirty or forty years ago would have dared to take the air except in a closed brougham, sitting in semi-darkness, covered from head to foot in veil and draperies.

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of the map shows the extent of the territory under Turkish  
Turkey is indicated by the dotted lines around the area  
of Anatolia.





THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: The heavily shaded portion rule at the zenith of the Ottoman Empire. Present-day mark

of Europe. The Turk is an Asiatic. His religion sprang from the deserts of Arabia. The Sultans were Asiatic in their temperament and in their outlook. They were in Europe but they never were of Europe. It seems almost as if destiny had propounded the great truth that Asia can have neither part nor lot in Europe. If this is not the lesson of the rise and fall of the old Turkish Empire it is difficult to find another that more completely meets the case.

Curiously, there is a parallel in another part of Europe, and though it is not an exact parallel the resemblance is so singular that it commands attention. When the Arabs swarmed out of their deserts in the seventh century, preaching the new faith of Mohammed, after they had conquered Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and were adventuring still further afield, they invaded North Africa. Having established their rule they looked across the Straits of Gibraltar, and the glittering prospect drew them on. They planted their feet in Europe. They conquered Spain, founded a Caliphate that equalled the splendour of those at Damascus, Baghdad and Cairo, founded schools, translated the classics of ancient Greece and Rome and kept alive the torch of learning that had been all but extinguished in the Western world; and in the Alhambra at Granada and many other noble buildings at Cordova, Toledo and Seville, they gave to Spain a new civilisation, a new culture, a new wealth and industry, superior to anything that country had ever enjoyed before.

For nearly 800 years they dominated Spain, and then they were driven forth. The parallel with Turkey is true to this extent—that just as Moors and Arabs in Spain were alien to the spirit of Europe, so Turkey, when she began her European conquests about the time the Arabs were losing theirs, was equally alien to the spirit of Europe. These two great lessons of history point the undying moral—that Europe is for Europeans and that never shall it become the heritage of Asia or of Africa. Perhaps that is now the only sense in which Rudyard Kipling was right when he penned the line—"East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet." East and West are meeting, but it is in the East and not in the West.

## PART II

## THE CONQUERING TURK.

**F**ROM this preliminary survey of the ground, these references to the military valour of the old Turkish nation and to the career of conquest of their long line of Sultans and the magnificent empire they erected by force of arms and skill in statecraft, it is obvious that a thrilling story could be told. A history of the Sultans would be of absorbing interest. They numbered some of the most eminent monarchs Europe has ever known—warriors and statesmen; and on the other side of the picture, every good Turk now will admit that they included men of much inferior mental stature. There have been about 37 Sultans, from Othman in 1288 to the last of the line in 1922. About ten of them were deposed. One, and perhaps two, were murdered. With few exceptions they lived dangerously—the prey of the plotter, the victims of Court intrigues, surrounded by spies and claimants to the throne. If ever there was truth in that line of poetry, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," it was in the case of the Turkish, or Ottoman Sultans, as they are usually called.

Here is another interesting fact. The Sultanate may be roughly divided into two periods. In the first we see them as men of outstanding ability, "leaping," to use a favourite saying of Mr. Gladstone's, "from elevation to elevation," adding fresh conquests to their empire until the Turkish name was feared throughout Europe. In the second period we see them as a much inferior type, witnessing their vast possessions slipping out of their grasp and crumbling to pieces, until the day of ill-omened Abdul Hamid saw the disintegration of that colossal empire his greater forbears had carved by the sword.

It is a striking picture, and it yields the moral that an Asiatic despotism can have no enduring roots in the soil

was content with Asia. He was the founder of the race of Ottoman Sultans. For nearly 600 years his successors were girt with the sword of Othman when they succeeded to the throne, and to this day his name stands out as one of the greatest in Turkish history. It was his son, Orchan, crowned in 1326, who began to lay Europe under his heel. His soldiers took Gallipoli and cities on the European seaboard, they advanced within twenty miles of Constantinople itself, and as the Greeks were powerless to drive them back, the Byzantine Empire began to dread the fate so soon to fall upon her.

How Murad, successor to Orchan, increased the size of his possessions until at his death they were five times as large as at his accession, how he despoiled the Greeks of their City of Adrianople and other territories in Thrace, annexed Bulgaria, much of Serbia and Macedonia, and made himself master of a great part of the Balkans, makes a fascinating story. On the Maritza, a name made painfully familiar to us in the present war, the Turks defeated 20,000 European troops. They made Adrianople their capital and set about the complete conquest of the whole of South-East Europe. The Greek Emperor acknowledged himself a mere vassal of the Ottoman Sultan. Then, as now, the Balkan States might have averted their doom if they had been united. But that bitter racial rivalry which has ever been the bane of Bulgarian and Serbian, Greek and Bosnian, led to their undoing. They failed to agree, still less to unite, and one by one they became the prey of the victorious Sultans.

There was no limit to the ambition of these Sultans. It was a boast of Bayezid, who succeeded his father Murad, that he would ride to Rome and feed his horse before the altar of St. Peter. His boast was never fulfilled. Though he made several conquests and conducted a seven years' blockade of Constantinople, completed the subjugation of Bulgaria, built a fleet of ships and fell upon the Greek islands lying off the mainland, began to make raids into Hungary, and extended his rule to the Danube, he himself was fated to be on the losing side in one of the decisive battles of history, at the hands of Tamurlane, the Tartar monarch, descendant of the terrible Genghis Khan. Tamurlane was another of those despots who aimed at the conquest of the world. His dominion extended from China

## CONQUEST IN EUROPE

But let us look at the rise of Turkey as a military Power. Only by so doing shall we see how, if war should fall upon her, every instinct of her race should prompt her to resist to the last ounce of strength lest she lose what still remains to her of the far-sprading empire over which she reigned so long and with such absolute domination. It was about 1345 that the foot of the Turk made its first contact with the soil of Europe. The Turks were made up of clans from Central Asia who had flocked into Asia Minor and there founded a minor State not far from the present Turkish capital of Ankara. It is an interesting thought that 600 years later, after conquering and losing some of the fairest lands in Europe, they are back again in their old home.

They were already Moslems, converts to the religion founded by Mohammed, and they had a great deal of the traditional zeal of converts. There can be little room for doubt that as they extended their hold upon Asia Minor and took city after city from the grasp of the dying Byzantine Empire, they were actuated, at least in part, by a desire to spread the faith of Islam. But the fact that these cities possessed treasures, that their cathedrals and churches contained gold and silver and jewelled furnishings, that the wealthy Greeks had much to excite the cupidity of a tribe of nomads, had an importance not to be overlooked. The spoils were distributed among the soldiery. The Turk, of course, must be judged in this matter by the standards of the age in which he appeared upon the scene. From time immemorial the lust of land, the greed of gain, have been the impelling motives of the world's great conquerors; and if the Turk followed the example he saw written upon the page of history he is scarcely to be blamed. It is, therefore, wrong to attribute to those early Turks a zeal for religious propaganda to the exclusion of the more worldly lust for wealth and power.

Anyway, be the motive what it may, the fact is plain that very soon they had the whole of Asia Minor in their hands and were looking across the Bosphorus where the majestic domes of Sancta Sophia inflamed their rapidly-growing love of conquest. Their first great ruler, Othman,

So Constantinople fell, in 1453, after a siege of two months. Mohammed rode in triumph to Sancta Sophia, the pride of Justinian and the Caesars, a Moslem mullah ascended its pulpit and sounded the call to prayer, and by that simple act the great Christian sanctuary became a shrine of Islam, and continued so for 450 years until Kemal Atatürk, first President of the new Turkish republic, converted it into a national museum.

Thus was the long dream of the Turkish Sultans accomplished. Constantinople was theirs, to become the capital of an empire destined to witness almost unthinkable expansion. Its conquest added enormously to Turkish prestige. Hitherto, save in the Balkans and their neighbours, Europe had been little concerned by the advance of the Turks. France was a long way off, and England was even farther off. Wars in the Balkans had only echoed faintly in the Chancelleries of Europe. The news from Constantinople came like a thunderbolt. If so ancient and vast a city could be taken, so noble a gem of Christendom, what next? This was now the question on the lip of every Continental statesman. The fall of Constantinople was one of the great events of history. It involved many new alignments of the Powers, and above all it gave birth to that Eastern Question which was to go to the very root of European politics and to lead to wars almost beyond the counting.

Little more need be said about the Conquest, except to show that the Turk, once in possession of the city, realised his responsibilities. The Sultan announced immediately that he was to assume the position of protector of the Greek Church. He promised the Greeks that a Christian church should be built for their use by the side of every mosque. Meanwhile, he refortified the city, repaired the ravages of the siege, and made it the key of his Empire and the seat of his government. As a further source of strength he built a navy larger than that of any other European Power. The Sultan of Turkey was now, in very truth, the master of South-Eastern Europe and the keeper of the gale of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. It is probable that the conquest of no single city ever had such profound and lasting effects upon the destinies of mankind as the conquest of Constantinople in 1453.

to Asia Minor. He then turned back to crush the revolt of the Armenians. His army of a quarter of a million men met the Armenians only 130,000. The Armenians were defeated at Ankara. The Turks were victorious. Bayezid was taken prisoner. It was a great victory. Bayezid was in the train of his savage commander, and with open

Then followed for Turkey a period of reconstruction. Tamurlane left the country to its own devices. Successive Sultans recovered, for a time, provinces lost to Tamurlane. One of them advanced into Greece as far as Corinth, and later met the armies of Serbia and Hungary on that field of Kossova, known ever after as "the Field of Blackbirds," where Serbian independence was extinguished for four hundred years, and that gallant little nation was absorbed into the Turkish Empire.

#### GREATEST OF THE SULTANS.

We come now to one of the greatest of the line of Sultans—Mohammed II, "The Conqueror," ever the hero of the Turks for the tremendous blow by which he smashed the Byzantine Empire and made the splendid city of Constantinople the gem of his possessions. He was only twenty-one when he followed his father, Murad, on the throne. At the outset of his reign he set himself the task of taking Constantinople. He made his plans at Adrianople. The page of Gibbon suggests that few military commanders in history ever devised such brilliant strategy. The city was defended by more than twelve miles of walls. On his part, too, the Greek Emperor Constantine, failed to be the last of his line, had made the best dispositions available. But the case was hopeless. The Greeks thought more about their personal quarrels than of the enemy thundering at the gate. They might have invoked the aid of Rome, but their fatuous cry still resounds along the corridor of history—"We would rather see in our streets the turban of the Turk than the tiara of the Roman cardinal."

in favour of the "balance of power," and when the enemies of Turkey made war upon her Russia half a dozen times. To re-establish the Greek Empire at Constantinople—England's protest was heard, though Pitt shrank from going to the length of declaring war upon Russia to save the threatened Turkish Empire.

But nothing could avert the disruption of the Ottoman State. She lost province after province. Treaty after treaty tore fragments from her side. She was defeated in battle after battle. She lost fortress after fortress. There were occasional flashes of the old military valour. Turkish armies regained some of the territories earlier armies had lost. The State became strong enough again to forbid Russia placing her fleets in the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azof.

But on the whole the tide was running definitely against Turkey. Europe woke up to the realisation that the Turks were no longer the invincible warriors of the early centuries. There was now no fear that the Crescent would overrun the whole Continent; European statesmen looked to the day when the last Turkish turban would be seen this side of the Bosphorus. Yet even in those dark days Turkey was not without friends. Nothing was more significant than the fact that the Greeks, for example, preferred Turkish rule to that of the Venetians, and that the Serbs would rather have the Turks as masters than the Austrians.

#### BRITAIN SAVES EGYPT.

So, piecemeal, the process of disintegration was carried on. Sultan followed Sultan and nearly every one of them succeeded to an empire dwindling in extent. Hungary cleared herself entirely of the Turk. She retook Buda after it had been in Turkish hands 150 years. Russia retook her own lost provinces. Austria resisted two sieges of her capital city of Vienna and put an end to further Turkish designs across the river Danube. Egypt would have been lost entirely but for the intervention of the British. That ancient country of the Pharaohs was ruled by a Turkish pasha in the name of his master, the Sultan. He aimed at personal conquest and the disappearance of



# THE TURKISH EMPIRE

We are now on the end of the career of the Turkish Sultanate, seen at its greatest extension and its splendor. There remained a few more conquests to be achieved before the empire stretched out to its greatest limits. The whole of Greece fell to Turkish arms; Wallachia, afterwards mapped as part of Rumania, became a Turkish province; even Italy was invaded, and the town of Otranto was captured. The mention of Otranto, familiar for more than one dashing exploit of British arms in the present war, is a reminder how place-names, seen now almost daily in the newspapers, fit across the scene as we survey the Turkish stage. Herzegovina was taken by the Turks, and so was the Crimea. There was a Turkish invasion of Persia, and the great province of the upper Tigris was added to the Sultan's dominions. Under Suleiman the Magnificent the empire reached its greatest extent. Belgrade (the capital of Serbia), the island of Rhodes, the greater part of Hungary (including the city of Buda), Baghdad, Basra, the Yemen and Aden in Arabia, Algiers, Oran and Tripoli (three Arab States in North Africa), the island of Cyprus, became Turkish lands. Later Tunis in Africa and the island of Crete were swept into the empire. By the middle of the sixteenth century these Ottoman Turks from the steppes of Asia ruled over twenty different nations and the empire had a population of 30,000,000. A reference to the map will show how far the writ of the Sultans ran.

Then a change came over the scene. After Suleiman the Magnificent the empire began to decline. It was ruled by a succession of pleasure-loving monarchs. One of them was appropriately named "Selim the Sol." The influence of Grand Viziers and the intrigues of the ladies of the harem decided imperial policy. The empire was constantly at war—but now, mostly on the defensive. She was assailed by Russia and Poland on one side, and by Austria, Hungary and Venice on the other. Coalitions of European States came into being—to drive the Turk back into Asia. England took a hand in the game and sided with her European associates, but Pitt reversed this policy and took the side of Turkey. The Concert of Europe raised its voice

Other blows fell upon the declining empire of the Sultans. The Pasha of Egypt invaded Syria and Palestine and marched into Asia Minor as though bound for Constantinople. The European Powers intervened to save the capital, but when peace was imposed it left the Egyptian Pasha more completely master of Egypt than ever and added Syria and Palestine to his pashalik. It is true they were regarded by the Sultan as Turkish provinces, ruled for him by a semi-independent Pasha, but the solid fact is that Turkey never again had any effective mastery of those three countries. When Mehemet Ali, the Pasha, formulated new demands a combined European fleet was sent to Syria to coerce him into a milder mood. He capitulated, but in return for his governorship of Egypt being confirmed as hereditary in his family, he agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan and thus acknowledged him as suzerain. This arrangement continued until the Great War in 1914.

#### THE CARVE-UP OF TURKEY.

It was in the twentieth century that Turkey's decline became so marked that the end of the empire seemed near. European Powers made secret treaties as to its disposal when the final blow should come to be struck. Constantinople was allotted first to one and then to another. Russia, as head of the Greek Church, had always desired it, but Britain and Austria and France had no intention of seeing it pass into the possession of the Czars. Napoleon's oft-quoted saying that Constantinople was the key of the East swayed the diplomats when every new scheme of partition was being drawn up. If there is one thing certain in the history of Europe it is that Turkey was kept on her feet as an empire because the Powers were jealous of each other and would rather have made war among themselves than see the Turk ejected from Constantinople. And he is still there. After four or five centuries of warfare, after conferences in most of the capitals of Europe, after the making of treaties now lost and forgotten in the lumber rooms of the Chancelleries, Constantinople is still a proud possession of the Turkish State.

the Sultan's army of 120,000 men. To add to the Sultan's troubles Napoleon took Egypt. The scampous wording of the French declaration of intent have been written by a Hitler and a Mussolini. Taken in the English from all their Oriental possessions, Napoleon bade his army to "Strike at England the most ardent blow, with warning to give her the death-blow." He headed his proclamations, "In the name of Allah." He posed as a friend of the Moslem world. He told his soldiers that "forty generations looked down upon them from the Pyramids."

How it all came to nought, how Nelson defeated the French Fleet at the Battle of the Nile, how Napoleon's armies in Syria and Egypt made no headway, how he fled from Egypt in secrecy and left his deluded troops to their fate, and how the threatened conquest led to a complete French humiliation, are matters of history. The result of all of it was that Turkey was able to hold on to Egypt for another hundred years, though with much of her power shorn.

If she retained Egypt as a vassal State she was losing ground elsewhere. Another attack by Russia resulted in the loss of Wallachia and Moldavia, the modern Rumania. The greater part of Greece re-won its long-lost independence after a revolt which aroused the sympathy of Europe and sent Lord Byron to end his life at Missolonghi in the cause of Greek nationalism. British aid was given to the revolting Greeks. A combined fleet of British, Russian and French warships destroyed the Turkish fleet at Navarino—a strange reversal of the policy that only a few years earlier had sent Nelson to Egypt to destroy the French fleet in the Turkish interest. This was followed by another Russo-Turkish war, which saw a Russian force moving through the Balkans and advancing on Constantinople, and it is almost certain that the fall of the capital was only averted by Turkey agreeing to an armistice and later to a treaty of peace which still further limited the rule of the Sultans in Europe.

Rumania, Serbia and Greece were now, to all intents and purposes, completely free, and Greece signalled her inclusion among the free States of Europe by re-establishing her throne.

## THE FINAL CURTAIN.

So the struggle came to its appointed end. There was still another war between Russia and Turkey. Once again was Constantinople threatened by the armies of the Czar. This was in 1877 only a year after the accession to the Turkish throne of Abdul Hamid, that amazing man who reigned 33 years, who played off one Power against another, who kept his empire in being but lost so much of it that when he was deposed in 1909 it was but a shadow of its one-time greatness. Alarmed at the Russian victories, the British fleet was mobilised, and was under orders to force the Dardanelles and advance to Constantinople for the defence of the capital. Another British war against Russia was imminent. It was averted by negotiation, and was followed by still another peace treaty which sheared great territories out of the living side of Turkey. She lost Bulgaria, which subsequently elected a prince to her re-erected throne. Bosnia and Herzegovina were put under the care of Austria. The boundaries of independent Greece were enlarged. Rumania was solidified and made more compact, and later emerged as an independent State with her own King and royal house. Cyprus was handed over to Great Britain. It would seem that the disintegration of the empire of the Sultanate could scarcely further go.

But more was to follow. Greece and Turkey went to war in 1897, and though Greece was defeated, the Powers followed their traditional policy of intervention and saw to it that Turkey was deprived of the honours of victory. It is true that Greece had to pay the cost of it in cash, but Turkey was turned out of her old province of Thessaly and had to hand the island of Crete over to the Greek kingdom. Then Austria bounded into the arena and took Bosnia and Herzegovina. Then came the rising of Arabi Pasha in Egypt and the Egyptian War. Great Britain intervened and sent naval and military forces to Egypt, and later, when the false prophet, the Mahdi, rose and swept the Soudan with fire and sword, it was a British force under Kitchener which had to restore that vast African province to civilisation. Though Egypt and the Soudan never passed into our possession, never became an integral part of the British Empire, they became, to all intents and purposes, a British dependency. Lord Cromer, our strong-

The Crimean War, that ill-fated conflict between Britain and Russia, arose out of one of the interminable Turkish disasters which dominated the peace of Europe. Turkey was still, then, the major power of Syria and Palestine. A Moslem ruled in the land which saw the birth of Christianity. The Sultan had given certain rights to France and Russia as to the custody of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. There were constant quarrels. Russia thought the time opportune for a final blow at the Sultan's power. It was the Czar Nicholas who coined that ever-famous phrase, "The Sick Man of Europe," meaning the Turkish Sultan. He suggested to the British Ambassador that it was high time the Eastern situation were settled—before "the sick man should slip away from us for ever." Hence the Crimean War. British sympathies were on the side of Turkey. Britain, France, and Turkey made joint war upon Russia, and that very Crimea at this moment again the scene of Russian valour—this time defending it from German aggression—was the theatre of the war.

The result in no way compensated for its losses in blood and treasure. The main effect was to give to the European Powers the right to interfere in the internal administration of Turkey, ostensibly for the protection of the Sultan's Christian subjects—to interfere, "either collectively or individually," as the treaty put it. From that moment the Sultan's complete sovereignty was threatened and assailed, from that moment European rivalry for the possessions of "the sick man before he slipped away," was at the root of Continental statesmanship. It says much for the astuteness of the Sultans and their viziers that with nearly all Europe against them they held so tenaciously to an empire which, despite its constant attrition, was still a formidable Power until the Great War of 1914 brought about its final dismemberment. There was only one hope for Turkey—the reform of her internal administration. This was the never-failing advice of Britain, the plea of her ambassadors to the Porte. If the Turks had paid heed to those warnings, and particularly to those of that great British diplomat, Lord Stratford, the best friend Turkey ever had, the course of history would have been written in terms far more favourable to Turkey than was the case.

How the Slavs beat Turkey, how they quarrelled among themselves for the division of the spoils, how Bulgaria, by an act of diabolical treachery, made war upon Greece and Serbia, her comrades in arms, how she was decisively beaten, are events within living memory. The result again was a Turkey still further reduced. Her sway in the Balkans was ended. The lands she had won by arms, had ruled for four or five centuries, passed for ever out of her keeping. Constantinople, Adrianople, were practically the only important cities left in her hands. The empire that once had stretched from the Bosphorus to the Danube had shrunk to such pitiful limits that Turkey in Europe had ceased to count. Such was the tragedy of Turkey under the rule of the Young Turks.

The Great War of 1914 gave the finishing stroke. Again the Young Turks plunged into folly. They went into the war on the side of Germany. The immediate result was the loss of Egypt. Great Britain took it over and later gave it complete independence with its own King and Parliament. When the war was over Turkey was prostrate. She was virtually expelled from Europe with the exception of Constantinople and the small piece of territory around it. Not a yard of land remained to her in the Balkans, not a yard was hers in Africa. In Asia she had lost Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Armenia and Kurdistan. The Turkish Empire of the great days of the invincible Sultans had passed away and remained only on the page of history.

But Turkey still lives on, reborn, revitalised, a compact State in that Asia Minor which witnessed the birth of the old empire. What is to be her destiny no man may say. At any moment she may be drawn into the vortex of war. How will she fare? That deeply important question may be answered by another pen.

wielded more influence upon the Sultan than the British Ambassador in Constantinople. Turkey slipped to ruin in the final throes of dissolution, the last of the Young Turk Era, Talaat Pasha and the deposition of Abdul Hamid seemed as though the end might still be averted. Abdul had reigned 37 years. He had lost the sympathy of Moslem and Christian subjects alike, and had been the instrument of the downfall of his house and the ruin of his country.

The curtain lifts now upon the last scene in this tragedy—the fall of the Turkish Empire. The Young Turks were in power—revolutionaries, hot-heads, split into hostile factions, intriguing for office and its emoluments. The new Sultan, Mohammed V, was a mere cipher. It appeared that Turkey was the prey of any Power strong enough to take it. Outlying provinces renounced their loyalty to Constantinople. Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, Rumania, Egypt, had taken great slices of the old empire. Italy now had a fling. She had long coveted Tripoli, better known to us in 1942 as Libya. In public, she denied any intention of aggrandisement. Using a formula later to become famous on the lips of Hitler and Mussolini, the Italian Foreign Minister used these words in the Italian Chamber in the December of 1910—"We desire the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and we wish Tripoli always to remain Turkish." The inevitable sequel to this blatant hypocrisy was witnessed. Ten months later, in October, 1911, Italy sent 50,000 men into Tripoli, and though the Turks put up a good fight—in some respects one of their best—the die was cast. After a year of bitter fighting Turkey had to sue for peace to meet a threat much nearer home.

Unrest in the Balkans had risen into a storm. Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, threatened war upon Turkey as an act of sympathy with the few remaining Turkish provinces in Europe peopled by Christian races. Tripoli had to be surrendered to Italy while Turkish troops were sent to the Balkans. The Great Powers made an effort to prevent war, but the Balkan allies were determined upon it. Tiny Montenegro was the first to throw down the gauntlet. The other allies followed. By the end of 1912 South-Eastern Europe was ablaze.

Nations are still a unity of countries loosely held together by our shipping routes. Once slice the world in two and half the countries in the British Empire are no more. They are isolated spots of red on the map.

This being so, one thing is clear. The defence of Turkey is of paramount importance to the British and United Nations' cause. If Turkey goes, who knows what may happen? The plan I have already suggested, coupled with the equally dangerous pincer movement on the Suez Canal to bring about the major plan more quickly. So it can be assumed, without giving away military secrets, that the Allies will defend Turkey, if she is invaded, with exactly the same determination that they have defended Egypt, which is not a part of the British Empire.

And in Turkey, much more easily than in Greece, we should be in a position to lend active aid. Around the south-east borders of Turkey are grouped the countries of Syria, Iraq and Iran. At the time of writing the Caucasus are still in the hands of the Red Army, though the position there is very desperate. The Soviet and Turkish fleets could control the Black Sea, leaving the Germans only a limited line through which to attack. Both Russia and Britain could presumably send reinforcements fairly quickly through the neighbouring countries if called upon to do so—though let us hope that, if Turkey is in the war, the call for help will come quickly and forcefully, and that we are not called in at the last moment when all is lost. I am concerned with facts and straightforward deductions from those facts in this chapter, but at least let it be said in print that when or if the blow comes, our help must be immediate, and that help must not be retarded by the Turkish.

There is, of course, a great temptation to sit on the fence, and hope against hope that the great attack will never come. Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Belgium, Holland, have all succumbed to it, hoping against hope that their little all would be spared from the giant bully that sits astride a continent. Only Sweden (so far) has been spared, but I do not think that the people in Stockholm sleep easily of nights. Sweden is like the little bit of stuff they put in the middle of the railway sandwich—it hardly exists.



## PART III

## IF TURKEY IS ATTACKED.

By NOEL BARNER.

**S**UPPOSING Germany, ever lustful for more conquests, turns her greedy eyes on Turkey, cock-pit of the Middle East? What would happen there? What would be the speed of any advance, what would be the measure of any defence? We have behind us the lessons of Greece, where a tough and valiant nation arose against the Italians and turned defence to attack, only to fall before the onslaught of the Nazi panzer divisions. Would the same thing happen to Turkey?

There is no doubt at all that a powerfully armed German force, striking from Crete, Rumania or Bulgaria, would constitute a grave menace to the security of Turkey, and thus to ourselves. Viewing the whole world as one battlefield, it seems that the Germans must do it sooner or later, for surely one of the most important high strategical moves the Germans could make in combination with Japan is to forge one link that will split the allied nations—for that is what would happen if Germany successfully struck south-east, and Japan successfully struck north-west until the two forces met.

But before we study the data about Turkey's war strength, before we examine the man-power potential, the navy, the modern aeroplanes she can muster on her air-fields, there is one point that must be borne in mind when considering the argument in the above paragraph.

It is this. Such a drive by Germany—particularly if done in concert with a drive by the Japanese—would be the gravest threat made since the thrust into the Low Countries—so woefully unprepared—in 1940. Losses we may have sustained in the Far East, but at least the United

# TURKEY'S MAN-POWER

Now, what about Turkey herself? How could she bear the brunt of the initial attack? Like a boxer whose opponent comes out into the ring with a leap and lands a punch straight on to the point of the jaw, Turkey might well be reeling and breathless in a matter of hours, for her cities would be bombed to ruins in the same way as Belgrade was bombed to ruins on that sunny Sunday morning not so long ago.

Let us look at the army first. Out of the population of seventeen million, Turkey in peace time maintained an army of only 200,000. This figure, of course, means nothing in the total numerical strength of a war-time army, excepting that the regular army must of necessity be the backbone of the entire army. It is the stiffener, so to speak. I should say that at present Turkey has about three-quarters of a million men under arms. She certainly has eleven army corps—say a minimum of 33 divisions—at least one armoured brigade, three cavalry divisions, together with a number of other smaller units. This is a big increase over her available trained or partly-trained man-power at the beginning of this war. It has come into being to a certain extent by reducing the age of conscription, and by taking advantage of conscription on a much larger scale.

For many years now military service in Turkey has been compulsory—men were called up at 20, and infantrymen served 13 months, cavalry men two years, artillery, air force and navy three years. By reducing the age to 18, a large number of the sturdiest youths of the country have been quickly switched into the armed forces. Now to add to this, each conscript serves a much longer period than his predecessors—the time varies according to the branch of the fighting services in which he is placed.

Until 1940 about 90,000 recruits were conscripted every year—these were the pick of 175,000 men who were available annually. Since the danger to Turkey grew more acute, the intake figure of conscripts has risen considerably. Though the actual figures are naturally a military secret, I have been told on good authority that the average now is probably nearer 130,000 than 90,000.

Of course against the fully trained and eager hordes of Nazi Germany, you might say that an extra 50,000 or so Turks a year are not going to make much difference; but

Do not let us lose sight of the fact that the immediate occupation of Turkey is not the thing that interests us, which they are. First, we must see to it that our negotiations for you can best stand on the basis of the patients of impending division would be easy to see. Then Turkey and the Allies must get together. Then the joint battle plan must be put into operation with all the combined means at our joint disposal. Then, not when a battered country, fighting alone, is about to breathe its last. For Turkey unaided could never resist a German onslaught. Make no mistake about that.

Fortunately—and it is as well to clear this point up before looking at Turkey's strength—there are fairly clear signs that collaboration has been going on for some time. A pointer in the right direction was the visit recently of General Chakmak, chief of the Turkish Air Staff, to the British forces in the Middle East. He and his companions saw, I am told, almost everything there was to see of our Royal Air Force out there. They studied very deeply a comprehensive cross-section of the R.A.F. and the Fleet Air Arm, they went to the western desert to see fighter and bomber squadrons in action. They studied the anti-aircraft defences of the Alexandria district, and they had explained to them all the intricacies of the organisation of the R.A.F. on the ground. They were there in the operations rooms of various districts, when the war in the air was actually being fought.

Now that is important, and it was only one of several visits made by Turkish war chiefs. They have sent a tank man to study tank warfare, to glean from us the lessons we have learned in the varying see-saw battles of Libya. Turkish High Command chiefs have also, I understand, been to London, and we can be fairly sure that there does exist some loosely-knit plan of operations for such an eventuality as war.

So I think we should remember that point—that already, Turkey, which could never stand up to Germany alone, realises this cogent fact and has already, at first-hand, studied our methods, our generalship and initiative, and the way in which we utilise to the best our available equipment. We, too, I think, realise the need for urgency in helping Turkey immediately if the war spreads.

United States, Britain and America immediately acted together in this matter, and instead of America sending goods to Turkey by the very long and hazardous sea route, America sent the arms to us, and we sent arms which we could spare from the Middle East theatre straight across the borders to Turkey. That stream of war materials has now widened to a river. Turkey has now received substantial quantities of most modern war materials, including tanks. Since then, of course, American aid has gone direct as well, and I have been told that in addition to this we have also sent from the Middle East a fair proportion of the abundance of material captured from the Italians. Though no one could wish to match this against our own, it is a useful auxiliary method of furnishing an ally quickly, and at any rate some of the equipment—such as the Breda quick-firing anti-aircraft gun which a number of British units used in Crete—is quite good.

The importance of this Allied help in the matter of materials cannot be over-emphasised, because, as we shall see later on, Turkey's industry—as far as war is concerned—is negligible. In any war, in which material losses must necessarily be heavy, the United Nations would have to carry Turkey entirely.

Before we go on to the air and naval strength, it is worth pointing out one or two subsidiary things about the army. The morale and fighting capacity of the men should be good—one is always a little afraid of saying that any nation will fight to the last man because so many, from Thailand upwards, have said exactly the same thing, and hardly fought to the first. The succession of dreary surrenders of able-bodied men only emphasises the more the vital need of equipment. Experience has, however, shown that the Turk is tough, and in all the wars of the last hundred years he has been a good fighter. The officers and N.C.O.s are considerably better than they were in the last war—for one thing they are all educated, and are able to assume command without the old Middle-Eastern habit of waiting for somebody above you to give the order. The fact that Turkey nearly a year ago started to organise parachute troops indicates her modern outlook to war. I am told she has two or three camps—quite large camps—where these men are trained—and though the numbers may not yet be large, they might well be useful, and they are a start in the right direction.

there I doubt if Turkey could never hold out against Germany. I know that very few men to fight in those initial stages would be worth anything in gold. Or rather will be worth his weight in gold—for they are already comparatively well trained.

If Turkey ordered full mobilisation, she should be able to put in the field—out of her 17,000,000 population—between a million and a million and a half men. You would have the backbone of fully-trained men, many of them armed well, some of them armed not so well, around which would be clustered the men who had already received military training, though some of it would, of course, be of an out-of-date type.

There you have the question of manpower. Let us say a million and a half. Now a million and a half men armed with pikes or carrying their munitions to the front on ox-carts are useless. Indeed they are worse than useless, for the nice round figure of a million and a half lulls us into a sense of false security. Therefore—what of the arms? What of the guns and shells and tanks? Here I am afraid my information is a little sketchy. One thing is certain. The Turkish army is not in the same street as the German army for equipment, though I have a suspicion that it has improved vastly since September, 1941—it was about that time when we ourselves first began to feel a little more confident, and so were able to spare more modern munitions for export to Turkey. Indeed some time towards the end of 1941 there was a great military parade of Turkish troops in Ankara. Occupying one of the places of honour there was Von Papen, Hitler's envoy in Turkey, who watched the show from start to finish. He doubtless knows as well as I do that every single soldier that marched past was wearing a British steel helmet. He also saw mechanised units and also doubtless knew that the howitzers in those units came from the United States. Also in the parade were units of British anti-tank guns, and British anti-aircraft guns.

That is an indication of the secret steps that have been taken by Britain and America to supply Turkey with arms. Well over a year ago now Turkey—which is on the American Lease-Lend list—started negotiations with Washington in order to receive war material from the

Airfields are a bit of a problem, and I do not believe there are many good ones of the type needed for latest aircraft. The country is against the use of large stretches of flat ground, and Turkey would have to be very careful to hold on to every single airfield in the country. One thing, fortunately, she has got. Plenty of good anti-aircraft equipment from Britain and America, and most of this is grouped around the strategic fields which, if kept in Turkish hands in the first few days of a war, might well spell the difference between victory and defeat. *They must be kept, those airfields.* Otherwise, a few sudden swoops by German parachute troops and glidermen, and the Turkish air force would be land-bound, and their machines could be smashed to pieces on the ground.

That, to my mind, would, in the event of war, be the test of Turkish fighting morale—the defence of her airfields. For, consider. It would be a case of small, bitterly-fought battles in which, for once, the foe would not have overwhelming equipment. The Turks should be able to match, or even beat, the equipment used by German parachute battalions. If they cannot beat those men—if the preparations they are making now are not good enough—then . . . well, the less said about it the better.

We, of course, have good airfields on the neighbouring countryside, but they are a long way from the North-West tip of Turkey, and we could never operate a fighter screen from there. So one thing is certain: Turkey, which has a fair air force, must guard it most zealously—the planes, the men, the airfields. For without them she will be lost.

One last point. Turkey cannot build aeroplanes, so reinforcements, as in the case of the army, would have to come from us. She would, however, be able to get all the oil and aviation spirit she required from the Caucasus and from Iraq. Petrol in bulk is a difficult substance to handle. Fortunately it is near at hand.

## NATION'S AIR STRENGTH

Now what about the air force? There have been many rumours during the past months of large supplies of the latest British models being sent to Turkey. Though it would be wise to discount the stellar optimism of the uninformed, it can be said that an appreciable number of British aircraft have been sent to Turkey since the fall of France. These include Hurricanes and Blenheims, and I do not doubt that considerable numbers of American aeroplanes have been sent there in ever-increasing numbers during the past few months.

The numbers are secret, and that makes it extremely difficult to assess Turkey's air strength to-day. In 1940, she had 370 first-line aircraft—many of them, even then, British models—and of course she has had many reinforcements since that date. She should be able to give a good account of herself in the air, though\*it wouldn't be easy. If the Germans were to stage an all-out offensive in this area, they could bring more planes into the air than the Turks could ever gather, and if we were to send too many from Libya to help Turkey, the weakness there would be such that we should soon be in difficulties on the other side of the Suez.

The pilots of the Turkish Air Force are not, I think, as good as German and British—that stands to reason, for we have had our baptism of blood in the air, and have profited very much from the experience, for there is no teacher of the arts of war like war itself if you are fortunate enough to survive. At the same time, we know the Turks to be equipped with quite good machines (though not all, by a long way, are Hurricanes or Blenheims), and I believe they have had the practical help of distinguished members of the R.A.F. to aid them in formulating plans for training on a large scale.

probability, added to the British Navy. There was an outcry, both in Turkey and in England. Turkey, claiming that she was at peace with Great Britain, protested that we were bound in honour to hand over the ships she had ordered. A school of thought in our own country held that our refusal to do so would drive Turkey into the war against us. As usual Mr. Churchill was right. Later it was discovered that on August 2nd, only two days before we declared war on Germany, Turkey had signed a secret agreement of alliance with Germany—a fact she has bitterly rued from that day to this. Had those Dreadnoughts been delivered to Turkey they would have been manned by the German Navy and used against us. By keeping them Mr. Churchill added to our own naval strength. Compare the difference—in 1914 we commandeered two Turkish ships completed in our shipyards; in 1942 we fulfil a Turkish order for three war vessels and deliver them to a Turkish port amid every circumstance of public rejoicing. As showing the difference in the relations between Britain and Turkey, no more striking and agreeable illustration could be given.

The chief base of Turkey's naval force is Ismit, in the Sea of Marmora, thus covering any possible attack across the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus—incidentally, the Dardanelles, from the Ægean Sea to the Sea of Marmora, are about fifty miles long, with a narrow "S" bend in the middle which is barely five miles wide. To the south is Turkey proper, to the north the Gallipoli peninsula. Guns on both of these sides completely control shipping, and it is quite impossible for German ships to pass through—always provided, of course, that the Germans don't get down easily to the northern shore and silence the Turkish batteries. To stop this the Army and Navy authorities have together built the Chakmak Line, which spans Thrace from sea to sea, barring the way by land to Istanbul and the Dardanelles. The "line" is made up of three lines of artillery emplacements, tank traps and machine-gun nests. They may not be very modern, but unless immobilised from the air, they should be able to hinder an attack long enough to be of value.



## GUARDING THE BLACK SEA

So we come to the Navy which is not big by our standards, but of course has a smaller function to perform—not smaller in importance, but in area, for most of the units of the Turkish Navy have, with the Russian southern fleet, the job of guarding the Black Sea, thus ensuring that the Germans can never land on the northern shores of Turkey.

Turkey's Navy consisted until recently of one battleship which is old (at one time she was in the German Navy), two cruisers which are also old, and about eight destroyers, of varying ages, though at least four are modern, and some have actually been built in Britain since the start of the war. She has about a dozen submarines, a few minesweepers and gunboats, and six minelayers. Quite recently a notable addition was made to her naval strength, and the circumstances under which it was made are worth relating for the significant moral they reveal. Since this war broke out Turkey gave orders to British shipyards for the construction of two destroyers and one submarine. Not only was the order carried out, but the vessels were delivered to Turkey by British crews. The incident created a great and favourable impression in Turkey. It showed that despite the pressure of work on our shipyards, despite our own urgent need of warships of every kind, we could spare the material, the time, the labour, for this friendly gesture to our old-time ally.

There is another fact, too, of even more striking significance. When the Great War broke out on August 4th, 1914, Turkey had on order in Britain two battleships of the powerful "Dreadnought" class. They were completed and ready for delivery. At that time our present Prime Minister, Mr. Winston Churchill, was First Lord of the Admiralty. He intervened and issued an order that the battleships should not be delivered. They were, in all

All this is very important not to say very serious, and it brings me back to the point where I started: that if Germany attacks Turkey suddenly, then the United Nations must be within call, and ready with assistance—as apart from promises—at the first hour the war spreads. For mark my words, the fate of the world might well be settled in the Dardanelles. No one will deny that the eastern pocket of the Mediterranean is the cock-pit of hostilities the world over. If the war spreads suddenly south towards it, and north towards it, failure would slice the world in two. In Turkey we have a resolute and comparatively well-equipped army, quite a good air force, and a small but good navy. That is all to the good, but that in itself would never stop the conquering German hordes. We would be wise to remember that while there is time. We must give aid—and give it quickly. Otherwise, Turkey—like so many other countries—would be wiped off the map with a smear of blood.

## INDUSTRY

Now before we finish this brief survey of the armed strength of Turkey, there is one more factor to be considered. It is the factor of industry. I have always felt very strongly on the need for regarding industry as a Fourth Column in modern warfare. People are too apt these days to talk glibly of a million men and a thousand planes, and a dozen ships, without going behind the scenes to see how they can be sustained or replaced when the battle flares up. If Soviet Russia, for instance, had not industrialised behind the Urals, then Soviet Russia to-day would have been prostrate, for—because of geographical difficulties—we could never have got the stuff of war to her country in time.

Turkey's industrial resources are negligible. In the whole of the country, which is nearly three times as big as the British Isles, there is only one modern steel plant. Only one. Turkey is a land of raw materials—of chrome, which is vital to the manufacture of steel, and of copper, and of coal. But otherwise the raw materials are useless for war—figs, tobacco, mohair, are the sorts of things which Turkey exports in exchange for war equipment. In Turkey to-day, despite a policy of industrialisation which has not yet had a chance to get under way, there are few factories, few workshops, few shipyards. In other words, as I have said before in this chapter, Britain and America would have to carry Turkey as far as equipment is concerned in any war.

She has, I believe, only one aircraft factory, and even that relies on imports for some of the trickier and more delicate units of modern aircraft. I do not think this factory can turn out a single modern aeroplane without outside help.

But this is not all. If Hitler were to leave European Turkey alone if he were to fall upon Turkey in Asia, if he were to try to force his way through Anatolia for a move towards Iraq, or Persia, or any other part of Asia, the Terms of the Treaty would undoubtedly be fulfilled to the very last letter. The Treaty is based upon the Atlantic Charter. That document guarantees the freedom and the independence of all nations against Nazi tyranny.

There would be no hair-splitting over the word "Europe." When Egypt was threatened a British Imperial Force was sent to maintain its integrity. When Nazi intrigues engineered a revolt in Iraq, again the British Commonwealth moved to its rescue. When similar intrigues in Persia threatened that ancient monarchy with disruption, Britain and Russia took instant and effective steps to ward off the impending peril. All these three countries are outside Europe. Egypt is in Africa, and Iraq and Persia are in Asia.

If the stability and the independence of these three States were of importance to the world, if the prospect of their subjugation by Germany impelled direct intervention on the part of the United Nations, the case of Turkey is of equal if not of greater significance. An independent Turkey, free to live her own life and work out her own destiny, is of concern to the whole world, and particularly so is it of concern to Britain and to Russia. Therefore, this Treaty is, in effect, a charter guaranteeing the continuance of the Turkish Republic.

It has been made clear time after time in the pages of this book that Turkey's best friends are Russia on one side, and her old ally Great Britain on the other side. Russia has been one of Turkey's stoutest friends. What she has done for the Turkish Republic has been set forth at length. The relations between the two States are so close and so friendly that Turkey, in her Treaty with Britain, stipulated that no matter what new circumstances might arise she

## EPILOGUE

**A**T the moment when these pages were being sent to press Mr. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Minister, was announcing to the House of Commons the terms of the recently-signed Treaty between the British Government and the Soviet Republics of Russia. It was a treaty of war-time alliance, a definite pledge of military association in the fullest sense, and, moreover, it contained not only an assurance that a Second Front would be created in Europe, but it bound both partners in a scheme for the reconstruction of Europe for a period of twenty years.

But there is another aspect in which this Treaty has a distinct relation to the theme of this book. Although Turkey was not indicated by name in this great diplomatic instrument, Turkish statesmen would be quick to seize upon the highly significant fact that by implication it guarantees the independence of the Turkish Republic. Here is the material clause as set forth in Part 2, which states that the High Contracting Parties

"... Will, after the termination of hostilities, take all the measures in their power to render impossible a repetition of aggression and violation of the peace by Germany or any of the States associated with her in acts of aggression in Europe."

The word Europe must be read in its widest application. Turkey is still in Europe. She is still seated in Constantinople. She still holds the keys of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. She still dominates the entrance to the Black Sea from the Mediterranean. Therefore, any move by Germany against Turkey in Europe would be resisted by force of arms by Britain and Russia in unison. Thus Turkey's security in Europe is guaranteed to the full.

Bombay. By these and many similar actions, she has shown an unmistakable desire to edge further away from the Axis and to come closer to the United Nations. She has stiffened in her attitude towards Bulgaria the Perfidious and has shown not only how keenly she resents Bulgarian arrogance but how determined she is to stand no more nonsense from the Germanised Balkan States.

Thus the issue is plain for all to see, and if in any quarter it has been so far misunderstood this Treaty between Britain and Russia removes the last possibility of misconception. All that remains now for Turkey is to stand fast, to pay no heed to the filibustering threats of Hitler or Mussolini or anybody else. If in the last resort she is attacked, if Hitler, with the desperation of the gambler who sees his winnings slipping out of his grasp, should put his fortunes to the last test by attacking Turkey, there is nothing on earth more certain than that Britain and Russia would leap to her aid almost before the echo of Germany's first shot had died away.

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must never be asked to take up arms against her great Russian neighbour. On the other hand she is bound to Britain by ties that Turkey herself would never wish to see broken.

It may be taken for granted, then, that this epoch-making Treaty between Britain and Russia is, by implication, a pledge that Turkey's present status will be maintained inviolate against any move on the part of the Axis. Nor is it any less significant that though the United States of America has not signed this Treaty she is cognisant of it, has given it her approval, for the simple but tremendously important reason that it is in harmony with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

In view of this new Treaty, and all it implies, it may be reiterated that Turkey has nothing to fear from any quarter except from the Axis group. There is not a Power on the globe that at this moment covets a yard of Turkish territory—except the Axis group. The fact that from every part of the civilised world congratulations and felicitations have been showered upon both parties to the Treaty is proof that its terms command the approbation of all freedom-loving peoples. Turkey's only danger comes from the Axis Powers and those ill-advised States who have thrown in their lot with Germany. Turkey's position is made stronger by this historic document. Look how she stands at this moment. She is in friendly co-operation with Britain and Russia. She is receiving supplies from America under the Lend-and-Lease Convention. How many million pounds' worth of war equipment and military material she is receiving from Great Britain will never be known until the war is over. As proof of her friendship with Greece she is sending food to that country and she has provided shelter and hospitality for those unfortunate Greek refugees who were denied by Nazi tyranny the privilege of returning to their homeland. She has opened a new chapter in her relations with India—part of the British Commonwealth—by establishing for the first time a Consulate-General at





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